2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

In rendering Arabic and Berber words and phrases used in Morocco I endeavour to represent them as they are pronounced by the natives, independently of the written Arabic. As the same word is often pronounced differently in different places, and by different persons, the reader should not accuse me of inconsistency if he finds it spelt sometimes in one way and sometimes in another.

My system of transliterating the Arabic consonants is the following :—

B represents ب; *d* د, or ذ when pronounced as the English *d*; *đ* ذ when pronounced as *th* in *this*[1]; *ḍ* ض, or ظ when pronounced as ض; *ḏ* ظ when not pronounced as ض[2]; *f* ف, in Morocco written ڤ; *g* ج or ق, in Morocco written ڤ, when these letters are pronounced as *g* in *grand*, a sound for which the Moors also use a ك with three dots above it; *ġ* غ; *h* ه; *ḥ* ح; *ḫ* خ; *j* ج when pronounced as the French *j*, *ʤ* (or, if the sound is doubled, *ʤʤ*) representing the same letter when pronounced as the English *j*; *k* ك; *l* ل[3]; *m* م; *n* ن; *q* ق (Moorish ف); *r* ر; *s* س; *ṣ* ص; *š* ش (a letter which is also represented by *sh* in names of common occurrence); *t* ت, or ث when pronounced as the English *t*; *ṯ* ث when pronounced as *th* in *thing*; *ṭ* ط;

[1] Among the Jbâla the ذ of the written language is often pronounced in the same way.

[2] In Andjra the ض of the written language is often pronounced in the same way.

[3] *L-* represents the definite article لل.

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104 *t'* ت or ث, when these letters are pronounced as *ts*; *w* و when pronounced as *w* in *will*; *y* ى when pronounced as *y* in *yoke*; *z* ز; *ʿ* ع; *ʾ* ء (*hamza*).

In some Berber words the following signs are also used:—

g', to represent a sound which to me appeared almost as a strongly pronounced consonantal *y*, but which my Berber scribe from the Aiṭ Sádděn, who had a remarkably fine ear, considered to be more closely related to a *g*; *ḥ*, corresponding to the German *ch* in *ich*; *ñ*, to be pronounced as *n* in *bank*; and a small letter above the line (*ᵃ*, *ᵉ*, *ᵛ*, *ᵎ*, *ᵚ*, or *ᵡ*), to be pronounced with a reduced sound.

The vowels are, at least approximately, to be pronounced—

A as in Italian; *å* between *a* and *o*; *ą* between *a* and *ä*; *ä* as in *fat*; *e* as in *met*; *ę* between *e* and *i*; *i* as in *this*; *o* as in *not*; *ö* as in German; *u* as in *put*; *ů* between *u* and *o*; *ü* between *i* and the French *u*.

The sign ¯ over a vowel indicates that it is long; ^ that it is long and accentuated; ˘ that it is very short; ' that it is accentuated.

The vowel sounds of the words are subject to great variations, not only in different localities, but in the same locality, and even in the mouth of the same individual. The length of the vowel, in particular, is a very difficult matter, both because it is so changeable, and because it allows of so many different degrees; and it is equally difficult in many cases to distinguish between the presence or absence of a vowel sound before a consonant or between two consonants. In these respects absolute accuracy may, in fact, be impossible without the aid of phonetical instruments.[1] I have only made use of the signs ¯, ^, and ˣ in cases when I have distinctly heard the sound pronounced either long or very short, but the omission of any such sign does not *eo ipso* imply that it might not have been used, nor does the use of it imply that the vowel is always pronounced long or very short, or, in the latter case, that a vowel sound is

[1] *Cf.* Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger* (Paris, 1911), p. xi.

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always present. Some distinguished students of colloquial Arabic have (largely, I believe, under the influence of the written language) applied the symbol for length more liberally than my ear has allowed me to do; vowels which in the Arabic writing are marked as long have a distinct tendency to be pronounced short in syllables which are not accentuated. The accent is also very changeable both in Arabic and Berber words, and ' or ˙ over a vowel only indicates that I have heard the syllable in which it occurs accentuated, not that it invariably is so; and in Berber words the sign for the accent has very frequently been omitted.[1]

[1] On the accent in Berber see Stumme, *Handbuch des Schilhischen von Tazerwalt* (Leipzig, 1899), p. 14; Laoust, *Étude sur le dialecte berbère des Ntifa* (Paris, 1918), p. 44 *sqq.*

[p. xii is blank]

abarrah (barrah)--market crier (p. 127)
'adl (pl. 'adul)--notary public (p. 53)
agharrabu (pl. igharruba)--boat (p. 342)
agirmam (pl. igirmamen)--a pond (p. 351)
agraw (pl. igrawn)--a meeting of councillors (p. 40)
aith--sons of; this term is equivalent to the Arabic bani (p. 46); people of (p. 175, no. 127)
Aitharba'in--council (p. 164, no. 58); the collective of clan delegates (p. 123)
akhammas (pl. ikhammasen)--hired men who cultivate fields of cereal grain (p. 50)
'am alfillah--agricultural calender (p. 92)
amarras--storehouse/silo guardian of the Eastern Rif (p. 123)
amddukar (pl. imddukar)--friend (p. 247)
amghar (pl. imgharen)--a clan representative elected by the jma'th (p. 126)
amghar n-suq--"market chief" who policed the market (p. 127)
amin--the market provost who supervises the collection of the market tax and sees that the market is run smoothly and efficiently (p. 87)
amina--a female market provost in a women's market (p. 88); see the definition given for amin
amrabidh (pl. imrabdhen) -saint's tomb (p. 66); saint (p. 91); a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad (p. 155); a living or dead saint (p. 157)

amrabit--hermit saint (p. 116)
anigmar (pl. inigmarn)--hunter (p. 219)
aquwwam (pl. iquwwamen)--agricultural/irrigation expert (p. 169, no. 92)
arkan al-din--"pillars of religion" (p. 227, no. 17)
ar-raqba--"turns" of vengeance or reprisal (p. 102)
ar-rba' (pl. rurbu')--"fourth" or "quarter"; a Rif term which is used to denote maximal segments in tribes possessing less than five of these; this term is also employed (more often than khums) to designate the five maximal segments of tribes which do have "fifths" (p. 159, no. 22)
'ashur or zakah--alms giving (p. 227, no. 17)
'ashur (Rif-dha'ashurth)--tithe from harvests (p. 193)
'ashura--the 10th day of the first month of the Muslim year, Muharram (p. 227, no. 17)
athmun (pl. ithmunen)--conical silos (p. 48)
azdif (pl. izdifen)--a village council member (p. 58)
'azib(Arabic)--in the Rif, this term refers to a second house owned by an individual who already owns a house (p. 412, no. 147)
aziddif or aziddjif (pl. iziddifen or iziddjifen)--the headman of the jajgu (p. 107)
'azizi (pl. aith 'azizi)--father's brother (p. 227, no. 14)
baraka--a wonderworking power similar to the Melanesian mana (p. 92)

blad l-makhzin--government controlled land (p. 16); the land of the Shari'a, or of Islamic Law (p. 96)
blad s-siba--"land of anarchy" i.e., the Atlas and the Rif (p. 16); land of custom or of customary law (p. 96)
bu-mwarith--an official who takes over, in the name of the government, the property, real or movable, of any person who has died without issue or heirs (p. 170, no. 105)
ca'ida or 'urf--Berber Customary Law (p. 26)
darraz--a weaver (p. 86)
ddiyith--blood money to a victim's agnates (p. 234, no. 54)
dha'ashurth--voluntary alms; self-taxation (p. 194)
dkakhammasth--"fifth"; used only in the case of tribes which have five clans or maximal segments (p. 158, no. 22)
dhakhshifth--a trap used in hunting (p. 237, no. 68)
dhaddarth--nuclear family (p. 99); properly, this terms means "house" (p. 159, no. 25)
dhamzyidha--a mosque (the construction, repairs, and maintenance) (p. 190)
dhaqbitsh (pl. dhiqbar)--tribe (p. 156, 118)
dhasirth w aman (pl. dhisira w aman)--turbine watermills (p. 351)
dhimssi--hearth (literally "fire") (p. 159, no. 25)
dhrarsha--a fishing net (p. 349)
dhukkardha--"turns" of theft (p. 102)
dhuri--an association between two farmers whereby one man supplies the land and half the seed, and the other man provides the rest of the seed and the plowing equipment; the actual work is done by an akhammas (a hired gardener) (p. 50)

dhwara--"turns" of pasturage (p. 102)
diya (Arabic)--bloodwealth (p. 43); ddiyith (Rif, p. 109)
dshar--village, hamlet, community (p. 166, no. 71)
fariqath--a minor political division comprising four or five villages; a descent group in which all members are related, although the genealogical steps leading back to the common ancestor (if there was a common ancestor) are no longer traceable (p. 67)
fqih (pl. tulba)--a teacher in a mosque (p. 168, no. 89); the personage who officiated in a mosque (p. 190)
fqir--a member of a religious order (p. 195)
fraction--clan or subclan; an association of neighboring jma'th for sociopolitical ends (p. 115)
ghaba--areas where brushwood is gathered by the women for their ovens (p. 49); scrub forests (p. 66)
ghwarfth (Rif)--storeroom for grain in a mosque (p. 190)
guma--a slaughter house in a market (p. 86)
habus--a religious or charitable endowment (p. 162, no. 49); mosque property (p. 120)
hadj--pilgrimage to Hijaz, Mecca
hajjamin--barberbleeders (p. 87)
halal--that which is permitted to be eaten (p. 237, no. 68)
hannash--evil doers, snake charmers (p. 289)
haqq--a fine (p. 43, 72); law, reason, right (p. 397, no. 13)

harim--communal pasture lands (p. 66)
harka--war parties (p. 239)
hauma--a separate barrio in a village comprised of a single tharfiqth, the fundamental social unit (p. 58)
hizb--(pl. hizib)--one of the 60 subdivisions of the Koran (p. 228, no. 21)
ibarudiyen--dramatic actors (p. 127-128)
idhuran(sing. adhuggwar)--in-laws (p. 259-260, no. 24)
ifaradhen--a contract between two farmers in which they join their individual resources to produce crops and then equally divide the harvest between them (p. 50)
imam--a prayer leader in the mosque who stands before the congregation (p. 228, no. 23)
imdhiyazen--musicians who play and sing at weddings and who also breed mules (p. 160, no. 36)
imziren (sing. amzir, "blacksmith")--A property less (usually) social class in the Central Rif which originated from the tribe of Axt Tuzin. These people specialize in ironwork (p. 160, no. 36)
interventor--Spanish tribal administrator
isrif (pl. isrifen)--an affinal kinship term signifying "wife's sister's husband"; two men who marry sisters are isrifen to each other (p. 164, no. 57)
iziddjifen (sing. aziddif)--headman or representatives of each dharfiqth, constituting the permanent council of the jma'th (p. 126)
izidjith--a plaintiff (p. 230, no. 38)

5: Blanco Izaga

● 104

izudj or yuxshar n rimin--an accused person (p. 230, no. 38)
izudjen or yuxshin n rimin--cojurors (p. 230, no. 38)
jajgu (pl. ijujgu)--patrilineal extended family (p. 52, 56)
jama'ath--village, council of notables (p. 51); a collection of both related and unrelated tharfiqin (p. 65); a local community (p. 97)
jari (pl. jwari)--village headman (p. 66) in the Aith Waryaghar tribe
jbil--mountains (p. 219)
jillab--a woolen cloak with sleeves and a hood worn by men (p. 63)
jnun--a supernatural being (p. 91)
khums (pl. khmas)--one-fifth of the tribe (p. 188)
liff (pl. lfuf) -a complicated network of alliance systems (p. 58); political moiety organization (p. 69, 76)
ma'ar--silos (p. 123)
maghrib--sunset prayer (p. 363)
mahkama--tribunal building of the qa'id or qadi (p. 206)
makhzin--the government of the Sultan of Morocco (p. 16)
mhalla--a military expedition (p. 251)
mkhazni--a soldier of the Moroccan government of Makhzin who is a member of a special unit, the Mkhazniya (today since independence, Makhzin Mobile, or "Forces Auxiliaires"), and has nothing to do with the regular army (p. 206, 225, no. 8)

mmis n 'azizi (pl. dharwa n'azizi)--father's brother's son (p. 226, no. 14)
mqaddim (Arabic)--village headman (p. 122) in all tribes except the Aith Waryaghar where the village headman is called jari. In the Aith Waryaghar, the mqaddim became the head of the administratively created "sub fraction", while the "fraction" itself was under a shaikh (p. 176, no. 140)
mqaddim n-tmzidha--caretaker of the mosque on the local level (p. 168, no. 88)
mulu'--the leader of a hunting party (p. 382)
muna--food (p. 192)
murabit--holy man (p. 61)
mushaf--Koran (p. 231)
n-dara--upstream (p. 371)
ndzir l-ahbas--habus administrator; caretaker of the mosque on the provincial level (p. 168, no. 88)
nims (pl. inimsan)--a ferret used in hunting (p. 237, no. 68)
nubth (pl. nubath)--the notion of "turns" and of "doing things in or by turn" (p. 102); nuclear family (p. 159, no. 25)
qabila (Arabic)--tribe (p. 22-23)
qadi (pl. qudat) (Arabic)--a judge of Shari'a law (p. 159)
qaid (pl. quyad) (Arabic)--chief of the tribe (p. 24)
qanun (pl. qawanin)--Customary Laws documents of the Rif (p. 41); decisions of the village or tribal council with or without documentary evidence in Arabic (p. 166, no. 75)

qawa'id al-Islam--"customs of Islam" (p. 227, no. 17)
rabba'--hired gardeners who tend vegetable gardens and orchards (p. 50)
r-'adhawth (Rif)--vengeance (p. 398, no. 29)
ra'is (pl. ruyas)--the master of a boat (appointed by the owner of the boat) who directs the operations of the boat (p. 343)
rba' (pl. rubu')--see definition for thakhammasth
r-ghramth--"turns" of gift-giving at weddings (p. 102)
rhaqq--a market fine (p. 234, no. 54)
rimin or thzaddjith--collective oaths (p. 230, no. 38)
ribat--an agreement (p. 316)
r-knwaghadh (sing. r-kinghadh)--legal documents (p. 100)
r-mitrag--a long stick bound with copper wiring which was thrown to kill birds in flight (p. 237, no. 68)
rqisas--a fine paid to a victim of a crime by the person who committed that crime (p. 234, no. 54)
r-Rogi--a false pretender to the Moroccan throne (p. 263, no. 31)
rshuhudh--witnesses (p. 230, no. 38)
r-uzi'ath (Ar. l-wuzi'a)--the distribution of meat from a sacrificed animal (p. 415, no. 181) or from a hunted animal or bird (p. 382)
r-waratha (sing. awrith)--the remaining angantes of a dead man (p. 226, no. 14)
Shari'a--Muslim religious law (p. 203)

sharif--holy man (p. 61)
shuf'ath (Berber, Shafa'a)--agnates priority rights over both land and women (p. 227, no. 14)
sidd (Arabic)--dam (p. 409, no. 129)
ssdhaq (sdaq)--brideprice; dowry
sulh--truce (p. 374)
sunna--the custom of the Prophet (p. 208)
suq (pl. aswaq)--a weekly market
s-waddai--downstream (p. 371)
talib (pl. tulba)--a post-graduate student in Koranic knowledge; the functions of a talib are almost identical to those of a fqih (p. 169, no. 89)
tartib--the tax paid to the Makhzin in Tetuan by each farmer on all the livestock he owns as well as all the land he has under cultivation (p. 71); also spelled "tirtib" (p. 161, no. 43)
thafgirth (pl. thifgirin)--a bonfire (p. 239)
thakhammasth (pl. thikhammasin) or rba' (pl. rubu')--the major or primary political section which literally means "fifth" and "fourth" respectively; the tribe of Aith Waryaghar is divided into five major sections, each of which claims descent from a common ancestor; the tribe as a whole does not claim descent from a common ancestor (p. 68)
thamagra--the wedding celebration
thamza--a hideous local ogress who eats babies (p. 91)

thamzida n khutbath--the principal cantonal mosque which is attended on Fridays (p. 68); also spelled dhamzidha (p. 156) (Rif)

tharfiqth (pl. tharfiqin) -the fundamental social unit and a form of clan-community; the tharfiqth is an amplification of the jajghu (extended family) by inclusion of the families of all the sons of the original founder-ancestor (p. 57-58). Also spelled dharfiqth (pl. dharfiqin) (p. 155). A lineage (p. 155)

thargha (pl. tharghiwin)--irrigation ditches (p. 51)

thasrafth--In the Central Rif, an underground deposit in the patio of a house in which grain reserves are kept (p. 170, no. 98)

thzaddjith or rimin--collective oaths (p. 230, no. 38)

timrath--wife

tislith--bride

twiza--a corvee (p. 102)

uggug (pl. uggugen)--a dam (p. 358-359)

ukil (fem. pl. ukilat)--legal representative (p. 110-111)

ukil l-ghuyab--an inheritance or property representative for absentees (p. 170, no. 106)

uma (pl. aithma)--brother (p. 226, no. 14)

'urf or ca'ida--Berber Customary Law (p. 26)

yinn--"those of"; roughly synonyomous with aith, but Rifians tend to use yinn only when speaking of lower level segments (p. 175, no. 127)

yuxshar n rimin or izudj--an accused person (p. 230, no. 38)
yuxshin n rimin--cojurors (p. 230, no. 38)
zakah or 'ashur--alms giving (p. 227, no. 17)
zattat--the gift given to a prospective brides' father to put him in a receptive mood
zawiya--residence of a virtuous or holy personage and invariably associated with a saint's tomb (p. 110)
zujiya--a marriage contract document (p. 159)

FOOTNOTES:

101 671 114 1--This interpretation of a major sociological conceptualization of Moroccan political history, the dissident Berber tribal area, the area of customary law, as opposed to the Arab area under government control where Muslim law was administered, conforms in all respects to the views of the majority of French observers, who label siba as "anarchy" (which, indeed, it literally means: "anarchy, abandon") and who often overlook the fact that the rural areas of the Blad al-Makhzin were also organized on a tribal basis.

101 671 114 113 648 A later definition by Carleton Coon holds that the Blad al-Makhzin, the land over which the power of the Moroccan Sultans extended, was a "land of order", while the Blad as-Siba, whose inhabitants recognized the Sultan's authority spiritually while denying it temporally, was a "land of insolence" (cf. Carleton S; Coon, Caravan: The Story of the Middle East, New York: Henry Holt, 1951, pp. 295-323). This definition, though linguistically inexact, attains a higher degree of sociological sophistication than the preceding one because of and despite the fact that it pushes the analogy a step further.

More recently, Ernest Gellner has defined siba as"institutionalized dissidence" and "marginal or dissident tribalism" (Saints of the Atlas, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1969, pp. 2-5), and in a review article of two books by Moroccans who seek to interpret various aspects of their country's history ("The Struggle for Morocco's Past", The Middle East Journal, XV, 1, 1961, pp. 79-90, a review of Abdelaziz Benabdallah, Les Grands Courants de la Civilisation du Maghreb, Rabat 1958, and Mohammed Lahbabi, Le Governement Marocain à l'Aube du XXe Siècle, Rabat 1958), he contrasts the traditional French view of the makhzin-siba dichotomy and a radically reinterpreted view advanced by Lahbabi in which "the same (Gellner's italics) facts, the existence of dissident areas, which were used by the French to illustrate the failure and impotence of Moroccan government are used...to provide the basis for a Consent (hence Anti-Absolutist) Theory of the Moroccan historic constitution." Thus the tribes on the shadowy borderland between the makhzin and siba spheres of influence were presented with a sort of Social Contract situation.

101 196 668 It must be noted that in the Rif the condition known elsewhere as siba was termed Ripublik, and that this not only has nothing to do with 'Abd al-Krim's "Rifian Republican State" (Dawla Jumhuriya Rifiya), but also predates it in time. A primary aim of the 'Rifian Republic", indeed, was to do away with the Ripublik.

181 104 2--Blanco does not define any of these terms at this point; he only does so later, in his MSS. chapter on Family Organization. All of them are loaded, as he hints, with institutional implications, and we propose to give here only thumbnail definitions for the reader's convenience. Twiza (Rifian dhiwiza) is perhaps [illegible] translated as "corvée", a group work project, generally [illegible]zed for one day only, such as reparation of an irrigation ditch b[illegible]ose who use it, or voluntary assistance given by his neighbors to a man building a house, or, indeed, obligatory work of a communal nature (such as road repair) undertaken on behalf of the tribal notables or the government; this last, however, is usually termed rkwarfi (an Arabization and Rifianiza-

181 tion of French corvee), which underscores its mandatory character.
● 104 Wuzi'a, in Arabic, refers to distribution on a prorata basis; but its Rifian derivative, r-uzi'ath, refers only to the dividing up of the meat of a ritually edible and ritually slaughtered animal, which has just died, and those who share in the division are expected to pay the owner of the animal back at a later date. Dhwara, a purely Rifian word which Blanco mistakenly gives as twala, thinking it, no doubt, an Arabic derivative, is synonymous with Arabic nuba and its Rifian derivative nubth, means "turn" in its widest sense: use of irrigation water in turn by each user; taking of barley to the fiqh or schoolmaster in the local mosque by each nuclear family within the scattered hamlet type of community, so much the Rifian norm in settlement morphology, in turn, etc. etc. (cf. Blanco's own very interesting and elucidating remarks on the Rifian conceptualization of turns in the chapter on Family Organization). And liff is a crucially important intra- or inter-tribal pattern of alliances.

181 3--All words which are rendered in quotations are Blanco's, and in
114 no case does he define what he means by them. It should be noted here that Blanco, as well as the great majority of tribal administrators in French Morocco at the time, was heavily influenced by the thinking of the late Robert Montagne, Les Berberes et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, Paris: Felix Alcan, 1930--to such an extent, in fact, that many of the "value judgments" which Blanco makes are indirectly those of Montagne. In all fairness to Blanco, however, it should be noted that he takes sharp exception to certain of Montagne's interpretations of Rifian political sociology; and these exceptions are for the most part fully justified.

668 4--Although the famous "Berber Dahir" of 1930 was enforced, of course,
671 by the French up until the very end of their protectorate in Morocco in 1956, it never even had a chance in the Spanish Zone. This state
668 of affairs was due not to any special decision-making on the part of the Spanish Protectorate administration (for much of the corps of tribal interventores was in favor of the dahir), but to the Rifian reformer 'Abd al-Krim, who had vigorously suppressed what he considered the most objectionable features of Customary Law in the Rif as early as 1921 or 1922. This was one of the ways, indeed, in which he was able to consolidate his position as leader of the Rifian war effort and as "President of the Rifian Republic", whereas, perhaps paradoxically, it is the pre-'Abd al-Krim era of "organized acephaly", of councillors and bloodfeuds, which is known, perhaps in retrospect as the 'Ripublik', and which is referred to elsewhere in Berber Morocco, and as a permanent condition, as siba. By the term "most objectionable features" we mean to say that he effectively stamped out any and all aspects of Rifian customary law (collective or plural oaths, in particular) which could in any outwardly discernible way be construed as being opposed to "bonafide" Muslim law. Thus, in short, what happened was at the end of the Rifian War in 1926, the Spaniards found that because of 'Abd al-Krim, orthodox Maliki law (for of the four Sunni, or "Orthodox", Islamic legal schools, it is the Maliki which predominates in North Africa) was already functioning in the Rif, even it overlay a solidly Berber jural base; and during their protectorate, though with some misgivings, they merely preserved 'Abd al-Krim's status quo in this respect.

312 Dharga (Sidd)n Bujinn: Downstream from Dharga 'Arridh, in front
[402] of Dharga n Dahar. It reaches Habbuqush[167] and moves three mills
(Sriman Muhammad u Bari, Hammadi n Muh u Bari and Hmid Hammadi).[168]
[571] It has two turns, for the Thimsaman and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.[169]

Dharga Iznagen: Downstream from Bujinn, it reaches Habbuqush and
[571] has the following turn cycle: Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, I'abbuthen, Ims'-
[402] audhen, Habbuqush and Thabirkhashth.[170] It moves three mills (Hmid
n 'Amar, Si Mhand u bil-Qasim, and Muhammad n bil-Hajj).

Dharga nj-Fars: only in time of abundance.

• 104 Vocabulary: water-aman; irrigate-sissu; irrigator-itsissau; turn-nubth, pl. nubath; dam-uggug, pl. uggugen; sluice or dyke-sidd; ditch-dharga, pl. dhargiwin or dhargwin; irrigation furrow ("donde se rompe agua")-anqssar, pl. inqssaren; water or irrigation expert-aquwwam, pl. iquwwamen;[171] land-dhamurth; garden, orchard-dhabhirth.

17. DOCUMENT REGARDING THE DIVISION OF IRRIGATION WATER: TRANSLATION:

675 Praise be to God. After the truce (sulh) took place between the
614 three subclans, which are comprised by the people of Ajdir and those
312 who are with them, those of the Imhawren and the ones with them, and
578 those of the Imrabdhen and the ones with them,[172] the water of the
423 River Ghis which is born (literally, "comes out") in the springs of
691 Bu Harishen and in those below it was partitioned into three irrigation ditches, in conformity with what is set down in the document which records the testimony of those who have agreed to it, the Shaikh Muhammad bin 'Ali bin Shu'aib Amhawil, wishing to appropriate for himself the water which exists above the springs, whose water is

224 262 782 783 Animals caught in a trap which has been set with the Bismillah invocation must be eaten; but as, unfortunately, a mouse or some other ritually unclean animal might fall in, and as the owner of the trap would have to eat it, hunters prefer not to pronounce the invocation. They would prefer to wait until the next morning, trusting to luck to find the animal alive, if indeed it has not escaped from the trap.

The hunters must see the animals alive and pronounce the invocation in order to be able to eat them.

[231] For this reason, an animal caught by a dog, as well as one captured by a ferret, must be seen by the hunters in order that it be ritually permissible for them to eat. In the case of the ferret, if the animal turns up dead in its burrow and has not been seen previously by the ferret, it is also rejected, since death might have taken place earlier.

●104 M) Vocabulary:

1) hunt, hunting--Arabic rayah, Rifian dhagimmarth, dhingimarth or dhingmarth
2) hunters--Arabic mruyah, Rifian igimmaren (sing. agimmar), or ingmarn (sing. angmar)
3) signal of game--Haw-haw-haw! (repeated)
4) hunting in company--shirka, shurka
5) signal for attention and flushing of game--L-'adaw!; and if the game in question is partridge--Birraw!
6) sticks--dhigharya (Iqar'qyen dhigharyin), sing. dhaghrith, in the Ibuqquyen and in all the Aith Waryaghar save the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and the Jbil, where a hunting stick is called r-mitrag and a walking stick dhqabut.

104 7) dog--aidi, pl. itan; smaller dog--aqzin, pl. iqzinen

8) saluki or greyhound--ushshai or ushsha, pl. ushshayen

9) ferret--nims or inimsi, pl. inimsan

10) division--Ar. wazi'a, R. r-uzi'ath

11) partridges--dhisxrin, sing. dhasxurth

12) rabbits--iqanniyen (in Jbil of Aith Waryaghar, iqannai), sing. aqanni (in Eastern Rif, aqanninni).

13) hares--iyarziyen, sing. ayarziz

14) jackal--uhar, pl. uharan (properly "fox")

15) wolf--ushshan, pl. ushshannen (properly "jackal")

16) net--dhrarsha (Eastern Rif, dhrashsha)

17) net for partridges--dhinigmarth (dhingmarth, lit. "hunting"); in Jbil of Aith Waryaghar, dhabhyuth

18) net for rabbits--aghassil (??)

19) snare for partridges (of esparto)--ahabbas

20) trap for partridges (of wood)--dhifriwin, sing. dhafruith (??)

21) trap for rabbits and jackals (of iron)--dhakhshifth

22) threshing floor--annar (in Eastern Rif, andrar), pl. inurar

23) bees--dhizizwa, sing. dhizizwi

24) hive--dhaghrasth, pl. dhighrasin

25) Palmetto sling (used by boys herding goats or cattle to drive them on, but used on occasion for hunting as well)--r-wuttaf n-tighzdhand

26) fiber sling of century plant--r-wuttaf w-uxfir

776 778 161--Sidi r-Hajj Yusif n S'aid Ikhrif lived in Imnudh (Aith 'Adhiya, of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash) and is buried there, in a tomb surmounted by a white cupola, on the left bank of the Nkur. He is not one of the Imrabdhen of the Aith Waryaghar, but has descendants in Imnudh, in the Thimsaman and in the Axt Tuzin. In the clan of the Axt 'Akki in the last-mentioned tribe is buried his son Sidi r-Mdur, who gave protection to the tulba when they gathered at his tomb to read verses from the Koran. It is said that there was a time in which they stopped praying, and since then he has not afforded them his protection. Sidi r-Hajj Yusif has the reputation of being able to cure sick people and to cure barrenness in women. He is visited on Thursdays, and sacrifices are made at his tomb.

[755] [782]

000 162--These figures date from 1938, at the time of Blanco's survey.

[773] 163--The legend behind Azru n Srith is as follows: once a wedding was going on in the neighborhood of Thanda Hawa (which functioned as a gate and grain-silo deposit for the City of Nakur). A foreign saint, Sidi Birqi, who came from the east and who is now buried on the east bank of the Nkur River, in the Axt Tuzin, came up to the wedding procession to ask the people for a little water in order to perform his ablutions prior to prayer. He was brusquely refused, and because of this, he turned all the members of the procession, including the bride on her mule, into stone. To this day, Rifians say that the rock of Azru n Srith looks like a bride mounted on a mule--and hence its name.

[613] 164--The following groups irrigate from Sidd Ysiyar: Aith Bu Srama of Izakiren ("True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ighmiren (Aith 'Adhiya, Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ixatshumen (Isrihan, Aith Yusif w 'Ari), Axt Tuzin, and Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, Aith Habbuqush and Aith Tbirkhashth (all of Truguth, Thimsaman).

[613] [614] 165--Izakiren is a lineage of the subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash of the clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and Ighmiren is a lineage of the subclan of the Aith 'Adhiya of the clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash. Our notes read that there are eight turns, rather than seven, for Dharga n Tufrasht, but these, beyond reading Izakiren and Ighmiren, are unspecified.

[613] [614] 166--Dharga 'Arridh irrigates for Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa (clan of Truguth, of the Thimsaman) and Aith Bu Srama (lineage of Izakiren, subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash).

[614] 167--In the clan of Truguth in the Thimsaman.

168--All of Izakiren in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

[613] 169--Our notes state that the water of Bujinn is restricted to lineages of Truguth, in the Thimsaman: Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, Ims'audhen, Aith Habbuqush, Dharwa nj-Qa'id 'Allal.

[614] 170--All of the clan of Truguth, Thimsaman. Our notes read, in addition, that Dharga Iznagen irrigates some land in the Thimsaman which belongs to 'Abd al-Krim.

104 624 171--It might be noted here that the aquwwam is functionary, corresponding more or less with the Arabic shaikh al-filaha, who was introduced

104 624 [686] by the Spaniards. If anyone fails to turn up to repair a ditch after a storm, the fine he pays goes not to the aquwwam but to his jma'th, who buy sugar and tea with it.

000 172--"Subclans" may not be strictly accurate here as a translation, but it is better than Blanco's "fractions". Ajdir is, as aforementioned, a community of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Izan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, while the Imhawren are a subclan, in their own right, of the Aith 'Ari. The Imrabdhen are an entire clan, but in this instance only those subclansmen of the Lower Imrabdhen contiguous to the Imhawren and Ajdir were involved.

[613] 173--The references are to the lineage of the Aith 'Aru Hmid, subclan of the Imhawren, clan of the Aith 'Ari.

174--The Sultan of Morocco at this time was Mawlay 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Hisham (1822-1859).

175--It is impossible for us to infer today even the clans to which the first three men belonged, much less their lineages, because of the antiquity of the qanun (or, in this case, shahada) in question. However, Muhammad al-'Arusi was probably of the Aith 'Arus or a descendant of someone who had escaped from a feud in that mountain subclan, and 'Abdallah b. Ahmad Amhawil must have been of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari.

[554] [648] [631] 176--Sriman r-Khattabi of Ajdir, whom the Spaniards made the top qa'id of all the Aith Waryaghar in 1926. He held this position until 1934-35, when, at Blanco's instigation, Waryagharland was divided into three qaidates of equal size. In 1936 he became Pasha of Villa Sanjurjo (al-Husaima), a position he held until his death in 1950.

[614] 177--Of the clan of the Aith 'Abdallah, but lineage affiliation is unspecified.

178--Both the qadi and the two 'adul can be identified as being of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

[224] [113] 179--In Moroccan Arabic, rayah or siyada are the usual terms for "hunting"; in Rifian, however, the word is dhingmarth, while hunter is angmar, pl. ingmarn. A very summary description of Rifian hunting techniques, as practiced for the most part in the Igzinnayen, and with rifle, net or trap, is in Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 37-38; and a summary of Blanco's own data is also contained in R. P. Esteban Ibanez, "El Derecho Consuetudinario en la Sociedad Bereber", Institut International de Sociologie, XVIIIe Congrès, Nuremberg 1958, Sept. 16-17, 1958 (mimeographed).

180--This is not literally true, for like all Moroccan Muslims, Rifians are extremely fond of mutton (or even goat) tajins, or olive-oil based vegetable stews.

181--The distribution of the meat of a dead (or sacrificed) animal is called r-uzi'ath (Ar. l-wuzi'a), and every member of the jma'th is entitled to his share.

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121 perspective. Material traits do not include all of cultural geography, but they
128 do constitute the core of things that the geographer can study systematically.

The thesis of my study of deforestation is that the extent of change can be
121 roughly delimited by historical research and by observation of present trends.
311 In northern Morocco, as elsewhere in the Mediterranean region, the principal agents of deforestation have been (1) domestic and industrial consumption of wood, (2) burning to clear land for cultivation, and (3) destruction of palatable plant material by livestock. There is evidence that each of these agents has been active for centuries. If allowance is made for probable variations in the rate of disturbance, tentative conclusions may be reached as to the extent of change.

104 For reasons that are painfully evident to all students of Moroccan languages or dialects, correct transliteration is difficult to achieve. Consider the word for "mountain." On French maps it apears as *jebel* or *djebel;* on Spanish maps it is *yebel*. The proper English transliteration of the classical Arabic is *jabal*. But most Moroccans know little of classical Arabic. The usual pronunciation is *jbil*, and this is the way I have written the word. I have tried to transliterate words so that they are intelligible to English-speaking readers. Thus the Maghribi Arabic word for "stream" appears as *wad*, not as *oued* or *uad*. Shawen is substituted for Chauen or Xauen, and Wezzan for Ouezzane. The variant spellings of French and Spanish cartographers are listed in the Appendix.

101 The field work for this study was carried out from November, 1955, to May,
114 1957, under the sponsorship of the Ford Foundation. I wish to acknowledge my
122 gratitude to that institution for its support. I am grateful to many Moroccans
114 who helped me to understand their land and culture. Special mention should be made of my frequent traveling companions, Muhammad Miqqi of Ktama and
128 Muhammad ben Hmid l'Arbi of Aith Seddath. I am indebted also to Charles Sauvage of the Institut Scientifique Chérifien for assistance in the identification of plants.

[127] Since returning to the United States, I have profited from correspondence with David M. Hart. Mr. Hart was engaged in ethnological field work in the Rif from 1953 to 1955 and has since returned to Morocco for more extensive research. I am indebted to him for notes on many aspects of Moroccan culture, and especially for his advice on transliteration. The reader with prior knowledge of the literature on northern Morocco will be aware that I have derived great profit from
[126] study of the pioneer work of Carleton S. Coon. The illustrations of clothing and house types for chapters i and v were made from my collection of photographs and field sketches by Iris Neff and Jacques Lemieux.

Finally, I wish to express appreciation for the encouragement given to this undertaking by my teachers at the University of California. A preliminary version of this study was prepared as a doctoral dissertation in geography under the supervision of Professors Carl O. Sauer, Melvin M. Knight, and James J. Parsons. The present work has profited from the criticism of Professors John Leighly, Erhard Rostlund, and Clarence J. Glacken.

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APPENDIX

Variant Spellings of Place and Lineage Names

104 The first rendition of the following names is that of the present work. Subsequent renditions indicate variant spellings found on French (Fr.) and Spanish (Sp.) maps.

CITIES AND TOWNS

Arcila (Fr. Arzila)
Bab Barrad (Fr. Bab Berret; Sp. Bab Barret)
Dar Chaui (Fr. Dar Chaoui)
Fez (Fr. Fès)
Ishshawen. *See* Shawen
Izagan (Fr. Issagene; Sp. Isagan)
Ksar al-Kebir (Fr. Ksar el-Kebir; Sp. Alcazarquivir)
Segangan (Fr. Segangane)
Shawen (Fr. Chauen, Chechaouene; Sp. Chauen, Xauen)
Tabarrant (Fr. Taberrant)
Tangier (Fr. Tanger; Sp. Tanger)
Targist (Fr. Targuist; Sp. Targuist)
Tetuán (Fr. Tétouan, Tétouane)
Tistutin (Fr. Tistoutine)
Wezzan (Fr. Ouezzane)
Zeluán (Fr. Selouane)

DISTRICTS

Gharb (Fr. Rharb)
Ghmara (Fr. Ghomara, Rhomara; Sp. Gomara)
Jbala (Fr. Jebala; Sp. Yebala)
Sanhaja as-Srair (Fr. Senhaja es-Srair; Sp. Senhaya es-Serair)
Sanhaja Ghaddu (Fr. Senhaja Rheddou)
Sanhaja Musbah (Fr. Senhaja Mosbah)

TRIBES

Aith (Fr. Ait; Sp. Ait)
Aith Ammarth (Fr. Ammart; Sp. Ammart)
Aith Bashir (Fr. Becher; Sp. Bechir)
Aith Bu Gafar (Fr. Bou Gafar; Sp. Bugafar)
Aith Bu Ifrur (Fr. Bou Ifrour; Sp. Buifrur)
Aith Bu Nsar (Fr. Bou Nsar; Sp. Buensar)
Aith Bu Yihyi (Fr. Bou Yahi; Sp. Buiahi)
Aith Imasen (Fr. Guassene; Sp. Gnassen)
Aith Khannus (Fr. Khennous; Sp. Jennus)
Aith Masduwi (Fr. Mesdoui; Sp. Mesdui)
Aith Seddath (Fr. Seddat; Sp. Seddat)
Aith Shikar (Fr. Sicar; Sp. Chicar)
Aith Sidar (Fr. Sidel; Sp. Sidel)
Aith Tuzin (Fr. Touzine)
Aith Warishik (Fr. Oulichek; Sp. Ulichec)
Aith Wariyaghar (Fr. Ouriaguel; Sp. Urriaguel)
Anjra (Fr. Anjera; Sp. Anyera)
Bani (Fr. Beni, Bni; Sp. Beni)
Bani Bu Frah (Fr. Bou Frah; Sp. Bufrah)
Bani Bu Shibat (Fr. Bou Chibet; Sp. Buchibet)
Bani Bu Zra (Fr. Bouchera; Sp. Buscra)
Bani Gmil (Sp. Guemil)
Bani Grir (Fr. Guerir; Sp. Guerir)
Bani Gurfat (Fr. Gorfet; Sp. Gorfet)
Bani Hassan (Fr. Hassane; Sp. Hasan)
Bani Hmid (Fr. Ahmed; Sp. Iahamed)
Bani Hozmar (Fr. Hozmar; Sp. Hosmar)
Bani Khaled (Fr. Khaled; Sp. Jaled)
Bani Mansur (Fr. Mansour; Sp. Mansor)
Bani Musawwar (Fr. Mezaouar; Sp. Mesauar)
Bani Rzin (Fr. Ersine; Sp. Ersin)
Bani Silman (Fr. Selmane; Sp. Selman)
Bani Siyyat (Fr. Ziat; Sp. Siat)
Bani Smih (Fr. Esmih; Sp. Esmih)
Bani Yidar (Fr. Ider; Sp. Ider)
Bani Yisif (Fr. Issef; Sp. Issef)
Bani Yittuft (Fr. Iteft; Sp. Itteft)
Bani Zakkar (Fr. Skar; Sp. Scar)
Bani Zejal (Fr. Esjjel; Sp. Seyyel)
Bdawa (Fr. Bedaua; Sp. Bedaua)
Ghzawa (Fr. Rhezaoua; Sp. Guesana)
Haus (Fr. Haous; Sp. Haus)
Ibdharsen (Fr. Metalsa; Sp. Metalza)
Ibuqquyen (Fr. Bokoia; Sp. Bokoia, Boccia)
Igzinnayen (Fr. Gzennaia; Sp. Guznaia)
Ikibdhanen (Fr. Kebdana; Sp. Quebdana)
Imazujen (Fr. Mazoura; Sp. Mazucha)
Jbil Habib (Fr. Jebel Hebib; Sp. Yebel Habib)
Khlut (Fr. Khlott; Sp. Jolot)
Khmas (Fr. Akhmas; Sp. Ajmas)
Ktama (Fr. Ketama; Sp. Quetama)
Mistasa (Fr. Mestasa; Sp. Mestasa)

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TRIBES—*Continued*

104 Mtiwa (Fr. Metioua; Sp. Metiua)
Mzura (Fr. Mzora; Sp. Mzora)
Sahil (Fr. Sahel; Sp. Sahel)
Sumata (Fr. Soumata)
Tafarsith (Fr. Tafersit; Sp. Tafersit)
Taghzut (Fr. Tarhzout; Sp. Tagzut)
Thimsaman (Fr. Temsamane; Sp. Tensamen)
Ulad Stut (Fr. Oulad Setout; Sp. Ulad Settut)
Wadras (Fr. Ouedras; Sp. Uadras)
Zarqat (Fr. Sarkat; Sp. Sarcat)

MOUNTAINS AND STREAMS

Adrar (Sp. Aderar)
Adrar Dahdoh (Fr. Dahdeuh; Sp. Dehdoh)
Adrar Hamam (Fr. Hammane; Sp. Hammam)
Adrar Taghzut (Fr. Tarhzout; Sp. Tagzut)
Adrar Tidighin (Fr. Tidirhine; Sp. Tidiguin)
Jbil (Fr. Djebel, Jbel, Jebel; Sp. Yebel)
Jbil Alam (Sp. Aalam)
Jbil Buhashim (Fr. Bou Hachem; Sp. Buhachem)
Jbil Kelti (Sp. Quelti)
Jbil Khsana (Fr. Khesana; Sp. Jesana)
Jbil Lesbab (Fr. Lechab)
Jbil Musa (Fr. Mousa)
Jbil Sugna (Fr. Sougna; Sp. Suna)
Jbil Tisuka (Fr. Tisouka; Sp. Tisuca)
Jbil Tisiran (Fr. Tisirene; Sp. Tisiran)
Kar-Kar (Fr. Kerker; Sp. Ker-Ker, Quer-Quer)
Wad (Fr. Oued; Sp. Uad)
Wad Ghis (Fr. Rhis; Sp. Guis)
Wad Kart (Sp. Quart)
Wad Lao (Sp. Lau)
Wad Martil (Sp. Rio Martin)
Wad Moulouya (Sp. Muluya)
Wad Nkour (Fr. Nekour; Sp. Necor)
Wad Ouergha (Fr. Ouerrha; Sp. Uarga)